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China Back in the Frame. A comparative study of Canton, Whampoa and Macao harbour views in the Leiden Museum of Ethnology and in the Guangzhou Museum

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**CANTON AND NAGASAKI COMPARED
1730–1830**

Dutch, Chinese, Japanese Relations

TRANSACTIONS

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INTERCONTINENTA N° 26

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25. Rosalien van der Poel (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden), *China back in the frame: A comparative study of Canton, Whampoa and Macao harbour views in the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology and in the Guangzhou Museum.*

What precisely is to be considered as 'art from China' is a question that has been answered in various ways in the course of history. Depending on who was making the distinction, objects, written documents, paintings and sculptures, were, or were not, included within the category of 'art', or, 'labelled as art', if you like. In the period in which the 'China trade paintings' were produced, from 1760 to 1845, the export oil paintings discussed here not only met with a ready market as export commodities, they were certainly also seen as 'art from China'.

Export paintings from China were so much appealing to all foreign powers active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that such paintings can be found in museums and private collections around the world until this day. Fortunately, we can also find them nowadays in Guangzhou and Macao, the cities that used to be the foremost producers and exporters of this type of both kinds of Chinese art as well as export commodities.

Although made by Chinese artists, this type of art for 'foreigners' – with an entirely different set of aesthetic presumptions and expectations – falls outside any of the major currents of art produced for a Chinese audience. They take a place that is neither wholly Chinese nor wholly European. Yet, by the nature of the compromises they make, they tell us a lot about how one culture saw the other in the age of pre-photography.

This paper presents a brief overview of the research results deriving from the investigation of a group of such eighteenth and nineteenth century export oil paintings from China in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands. The oils were compared with a group of reverse paintings on glass in the same collection, moreover – and surprisingly – in part depicting identical scenes.

Divided by subject matter, the group of Chinese harbour views is an important subgroup of China trade paintings. However, are the Canton, Whampoa and Macao harbour scenes in Leiden really related to their look-a-likes in Guangzhou? To which extent do the Leiden pictures differ from the Guangzhou ones with the same subjects? And what can we find about dating or technical styles?

These export paintings possess a larger historical importance than merely an art-historical value. Presently, their cultural significance is being recognized more and more in social and cultural-historical research. Gradually, China shows more interest in buying this type of pictures, thus recording a forgotten and long past manner of conducting trade. Restoration of these pictures is therefore of fundamental importance in keeping this memory alive. This important, though divergent painting style cannot be ignored in a survey collection of Chinese painting. It is due time to restore this specific Chinese art form into the art historical canon, back home in China as well as abroad.

中国回到画框：对莱顿国立人类学博物馆及广州博物馆藏广州、黄埔和澳门海港风景画的对比研究

Rosalien van der Poel （国立人类学博物馆，莱顿）

历史上，人们已经从不同角度回答了以下这个问题：什么才能够精确地被视作“来自中国的艺术品”？这取决于区分标准的建立者。物体，书法，画与雕塑，即可以包含在“艺术品”的目录下，或者“被贴上艺术品的标签”，也可以全部排除在外，皆因人而异。在生产“中国贸易画”的时期里，自1760年至1845年期间，此处讨论的外销油画不仅作为外销日用品进入成熟的市场，还确然被视作“来自中国的艺术品”。

对活跃于十八至十九世纪的所有外国权势而言，来自中国的外销画是如此的吸引，以致时至今日，全球的博物馆及私人收藏中都还能见到这种画。幸运的是，今天我们也能够在广州看见它们。这种产品，既为中国艺术品，又为外销日用品。而广州，曾作为它最早的生产商和出口商。

尽管这类型的艺术品是由中国艺术家所造，却是为“外国人”而作。因此，有着截然不同的一套审美依据及期盼。由此，这种艺术品越出了任何为中国观众所作的制品的主流，既非全然华化亦非全然欧化。然而正是通过其折衷的天性，我们能够大量地了解到，在摄影机发明以前，一种文化是如何看待另一种文化的。

荷兰莱顿国立人类学博物馆的藏品中，有一组十八至十九世纪的中国外销油画。本文所提出的简要的主要观点，即源自于对这组藏品的研究。同时，我还将这组油画与同系列藏品中的一组反画在玻璃上的画进行了比较，令人诧异的是，竟发现有部分描述的是相同的场景。

从主题的内容来分类，中国海港的风景这一集合，是中国贸易画中一个相当重要的子集。但是，在莱顿的广州、黄埔和澳门的海港风景，真的与它们在广州的孪生兄弟有关系吗？具有相同主题的莱顿油画与广州油画有着何种程度的差别？关于年代测定和技术类型，我们又能发现什么？

这些外销画不仅仅具有艺术史的价值，还有着更大的历史重要性。目前，在文化史的研究中，其文化重要性已经越来越为人们所认识。中国逐渐更有兴致购买这些画，以此记录一段被人遗忘的、早已过时的贸易管理的方式。为了保持记忆的鲜活，这些画的复位至关重要。这很重要，尽管在一组中国画的综合藏品中，其有分歧的绘画风格是无法忽视的。而这种特殊的中国艺术品形式在艺术史的标准中的复位，需要时间。无论是在国外，还是回到中国——它的家。

CHINA BACK IN THE FRAME: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CANTON, WHAMPOA AND MACAO HARBOUR VIEWS IN THE LEIDEN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY AND IN THE GUANGZHOU MUSEUM

Rosalien van der Poel
National Museum of Ethnology Leiden

Introduction

What artefacts should we consider to be 'Art from China'? This is a question to which history has provided a variety of answers. Depending on the person making the distinction, the category of 'art' or 'labelled as art' has included any or all of the following: objects, written documents, paintings and sculptures.¹ During the period when 'China trade paintings' were produced, i.e. from 1760 to 1845, the paintings discussed here not only met with a ready market as export commodities, they were certainly also seen as 'art from China'.

Export paintings from China appealed so much to the various foreign powers active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that such paintings can to this day be found in museums and private collections around the world. Fortunately, they can nowadays also be found in Guangzhou and in Macao, both formerly foremost producers and exporters of this type of Chinese art and export commodities.

The term 'export painting' only came into use after 1949. It was coined by Western art historians in analogy with the term 'Chinese export porcelain', as a convenient way to distinguish this work from traditional Chinese painting.² Along with tea, porcelain and silk, the paintings were exported to the West in large numbers. To meet the massive demand, the painting studios used stencils and pattern books and made use of a division of labour. Sometimes, they even used the wood block printing process as a first step in a painting, before introducing colour.³

This paper offers a brief overview of the research results gathered while examining a group of such eighteenth and nineteenth century export oil paintings from China in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands. The data was collected during my internship in the first half of 2007. The oils were compared with a group of reverse paintings on glass, which are part of the same collection and – surprisingly – partially depict identical scenes.

For the purposes of my research, I divided the group of oil paintings, on the basis of the scene depicted, into a number of subgroups: harbour views imperial court scenes, winter landscapes and river landscapes. The twenty oil paintings in Leiden have been lying on the shelves of the museum depository since their acquisition in 1883. It is a great shame, but nothing has happened to them since they entered the Leiden city walls.

In this paper, I compare the Leiden port scenes of Canton, Whampoa and Macao with their counterparts in the collection of the Guangzhou Museum. In closing, I plead for a restoration of these China trade paintings.

China trade paintings: The phenomenon

Let me first briefly reflect on China trade paintings as a phenomenon in world art history. The main feature of these paintings is that Chinese artists painted according to the requirements of Western people, making use of Western painting techniques. The concept of plasticity, the rendering of three-dimensional objects as mass in a space – other than the rendering of the space itself – had always been alien to Chinese painting. Western perspective, with its single vanishing point and horizon line, light and dark contrasts, the introduction of shadows, the

foreshortening of figures and buildings, and its use of vivid colours, was likewise unknown.

The precision with which many paintings were executed is an important element in their significance as historical documents. In addition, there is still another value to these paintings: they not only show us a reflection of the contacts between two different cultures, but these are representations made by representatives of one culture using the visual language of another.⁴ Although executed by Chinese artists, this art for 'foreigners', with its entirely different set of aesthetic presumptions and expectations, stands outside the major currents of art produced for a Chinese audience. It occupies a space, which is neither wholly Chinese nor wholly European. Yet, by the nature of the compromises they struck, the artists tell us a lot about how one culture saw the other in a pre-photography age.⁵

In the course of time, these paintings have become rare and expensive documents for research both into Chinese-Western communication and into the port cities depicted. Paintings of this kind also fulfilled the need of Western merchants and travellers to have something to show at home of where they had been or, in some cases, lived for years.⁶ Words often failed to describe Chinese life in the West. As a result, the export paintings played an important role in revealing Eastern culture to the West.

Images of Chinese harbour views

Divided by subject matter, the group of Chinese harbour views is an important subgroup of China trade paintings. I would like to compare the Canton, Whampoa and Macao harbour scenes in Leiden with their counterparts in the collection of the Guangzhou Museum. To which extent do the Leiden paintings differ from the Guangzhou ones depicting the same subject? What do these paintings tell us about dating and technical style?

In terms of style, many of the smaller port scenes are very close to the Dutch school of painting of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with their little buildings and figures

and exacting detail. Many of these scenes reflect the Lowlands' artists' viewpoint as interpreted by a Chinese painter.⁷

Before the opening of the Chinese Treaty Ports in 1842, four harbour views were pre-eminently popular among Western traders. These were Macao, Bocca Tigris, Whampoa and Canton. The structure of the trading system between 1750 and 1842 was such that these four harbours were important for all foreign ships.⁸

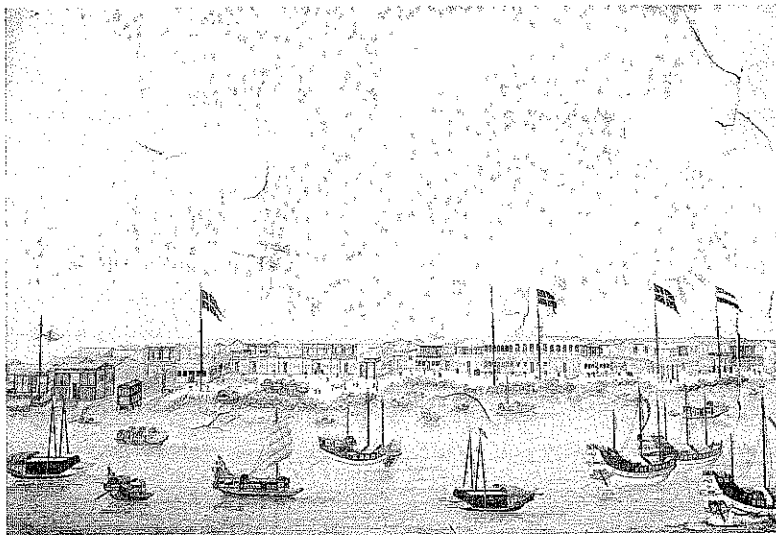


Fig. 1. The quay of Canton, anonymous. 52x76 cm, oil/gouache on paper on canvas, c.1780. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

The quay of Canton

Views of the foreign factories or *hongs* at Canton are perhaps the most familiar of all the Chinese port scenes produced for the Western market. (Figs. 1, 2, 3) As the only Chinese port open to foreign trade from 1757 until the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, Canton was the China merchant's ultimate destination and his *raison d'être*. During this period, the prospect of the

foreign concession changed constantly, as a result of fires and redevelopment, becoming gradually more Western in the appearance of its facades, and also more enclosed, with high railings and fenced gardens in its final phase, before the final destruction of the site in 1856.

Let us have a closer look at the paintings depicting the quay of Canton with the trading stations of the foreign nations doing business there. (Figs. 4, 5, 6) There are some clear indications for dating these paintings:⁹

1. The flags that are delineated against the skies;
2. The architectural elements of the foreign stations;
3. The fences at the waterfront in front of the factory area;
4. The reclamation of land in front of the American *hong*;
5. The erection of the Protestant Church, and
6. The handling of the skies.

We may also say that – generally speaking – paintings on rectangular canvases were quite popular in the mid-nineteenth century, as opposed to the nearly square canvases used in earlier work.

I must make a remark here regarding the dating issue of China trade paintings. As most of the subjects of these paintings were copied time and again, it is very well possible that the view of the presented scene dates from an earlier time than the year in which the painting was produced. However, in this paper I have taken the representation as a

guideline for dating the painting.

In these paintings, we can see some details of more or less the same spot at the factory area. The earliest painting is one of the oil paintings from the Leiden museum, on which we can see the white pre-revolutionary French flag. After the revolution, in 1790, this white flag was replaced with the Tricolour. (Fig. 4)

Although the reverse painting on glass from Leiden also carries the white flag of the French Royal house, this painting can be dated to some years

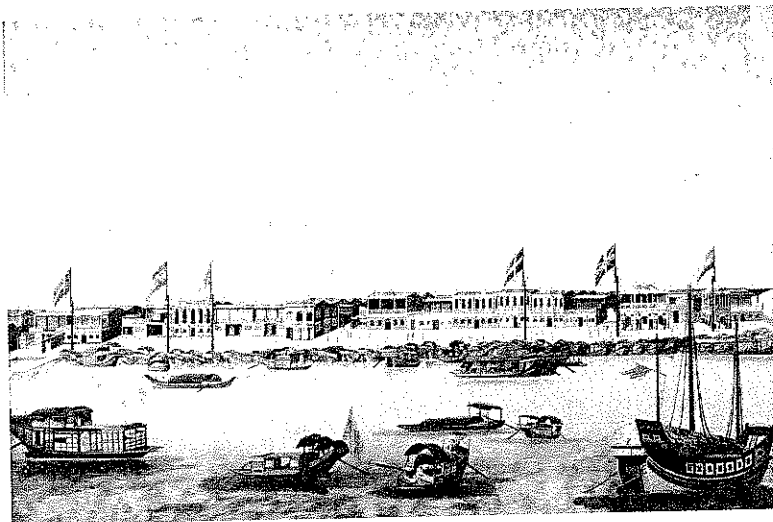


Fig. 2. The quay of Canton, anonymous. 52.5x81 cm, oil on glass, c.1785. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

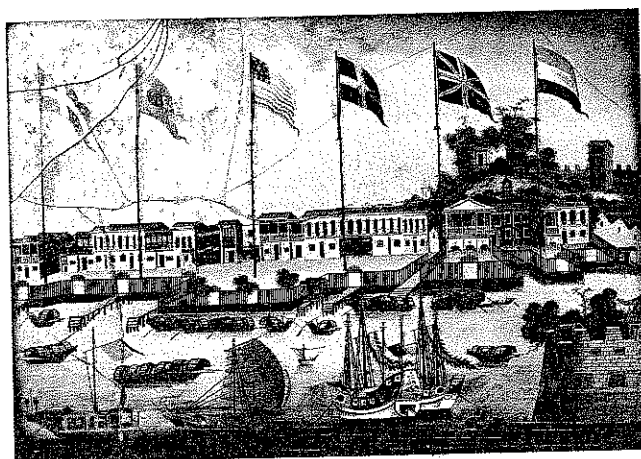


Fig. 3. The quay of Canton, anonymous. 36x50 cm, oil on glass, c.1810–1822. Guangzhou Museum.

later. (Fig. 5) As you can see, in this painting the narrow entrance of the British station in the left picture at the top has been replaced by an entrance three times as wide, with a closed arcade on columns. Similarly, in this painting – on the far right – the structure of the Dutch station has doubled in height and now has enclosed arches on the ground floor. It is known that these renovations were carried out in the early 1780s.¹⁰

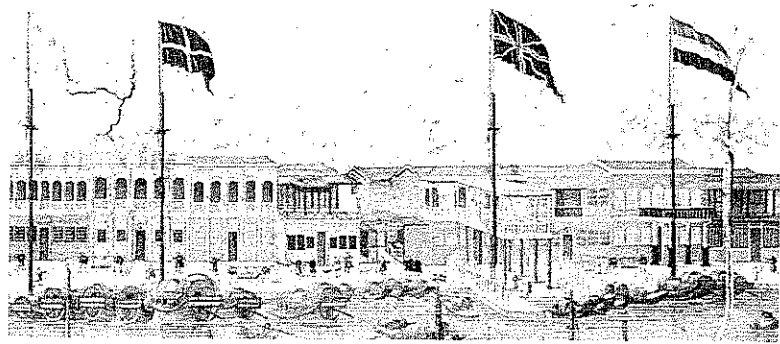


Fig. 4. The quay of Canton (detail), anonymous. 52x76 cm, oil/gouache on paper on canvas, c.1780. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

The reverse painting on glass from the Guangzhou Museum shows the American flag and the current design of the Union Jack for the United Kingdom. (Fig. 6) This design dates from 1801. The fences, which run along the water in front of all the factories, can be seen clearly. Carl Crossman informs us that the fences at the water's edge in front of the central group of buildings have been removed, possibly around 1801.¹¹ By 1810, the waterfront fences have been erected again. The factory to the west of Hog Lane, left of the British station, has been rebuilt and displays a more western style of architecture. I assume that this painting was executed sometime between 1810 and 1822. As we know, the area in front of the central factories was to remain open from 1822, following the fire, until late 1839 or early 1840.

The view of Canton from the collection of the Guangzhou Museum is distinctive in treatment and representation. (Fig. 7) Following the painters from before and during the 1830s, a group of painters for the Western market appeared on the scene who had learned to paint in a much freer and looser manner. The tightly structured drawing of the earlier paintings disappeared as a looser, more Western approach to painting, similar to that of the European port artists, developed among the Chinese. In this painting, there is a great deal more freedom in composition and viewpoint. Canton is no longer represented as if from an imaginary spot in the middle of the Pearl River, but is conceived in a more realistic, imaginative way. The land for a church in front of these buildings at the end of Hog Lane was purchased in May 1847, and the church was erected shortly thereafter.¹² Here we see the Protestant church and the American, British and Danish flags. The Dutch trading station

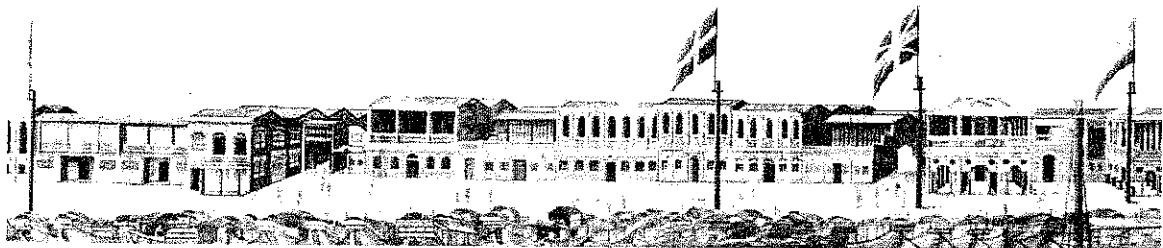


Fig. 5. The quay of Canton (detail), anonymous. 52.5x81 cm, oil on glass, c.1785. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

burned to the ground, together with the British and the Creek *hongs*. The trading firm Matheson and Heard occupied the new three-storey-high buildings on the site of the old Dutch and Creek factories and flew the Danish flag, due to the fact that one of the members of Matheson's firm was the Danish consul.

The dense garden in front of the American factory, probably planted in late 1840 and early 1841, is depicted here as fully developed and flourishing. This painting can be dated between 1850 and 1855, just before the serious fire, which destroyed the factory area in 1856.

The views of Canton provide us with an insight into the compositional repetition of Canton views, witness to the artists' concern with recording the changes in the waterfront, undoubtedly for Western clients who wanted accurate representations of their buildings. Moreover, these port scenes supplement textual references.

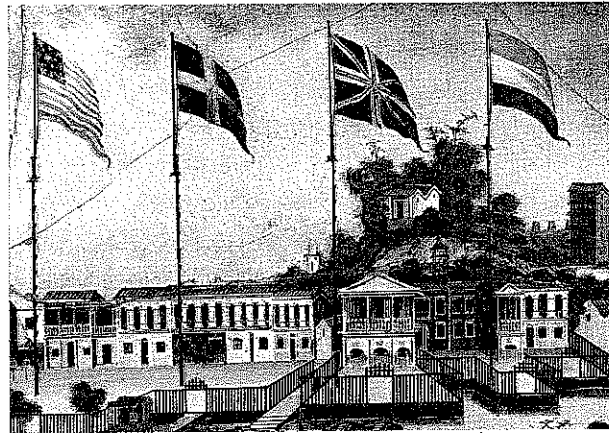


Fig. 6. The quay of Canton (detail), anonymous. 36x50 cm, oil on glass, c.1810–1822. Guangzhou Museum.

Canton skies

If we consider the handling of the skies in these Canton views, from the 1760s through the 1850s, we can observe a development in the depiction of skies in China trade paintings. From empty and simple skies with no depth and definition in the early works, we move on to more dramatic skies, with light and more defined cloud cover in the works executed later.

The early paintings, from the 1760s through the late eighteenth century and up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, all have a low horizon, a stark, bare, almost flat quality reminiscent in many ways of the engraved views of Dutch and English ports and a number of other depictions of foreign ports.¹³

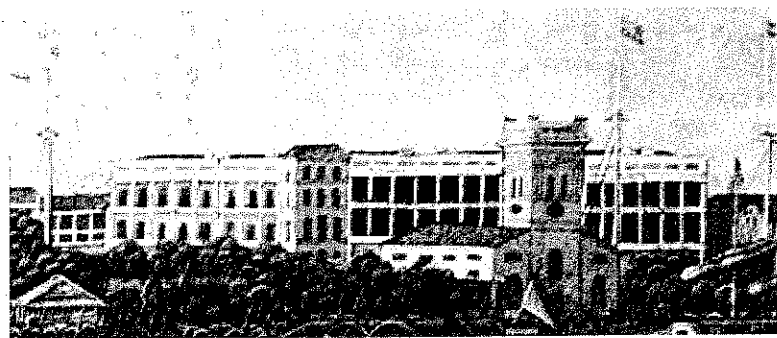


Fig. 7. The quay of Canton (detail), Tingqua's studio?. 16.5x26 cm, gouache on pit paper, c.1850–1855. Guangzhou Museum.

Whampoa anchorage

It is known that during several months every year, Western ships lay at anchor in the roadstead that had been specially constructed in the harbour of Whampoa. The most familiar view of the place is represented in the paintings of a view from Dane's Island, which emphasizes the most colourful aspect of the scene: the sight of Western vessels flying their national flags, lined up in the channels between the islands in the Pearl River. (Figs. 8, 9)



Fig. 8. Whampoa anchorage, anonymous. 52x76 cm, oil/gouache on paper on canvas, c.1780. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

In the middle of the river lies the island of Whampoa, with a strip of sand, grass and trees. On the island, the nine-storey Pazhou Pagoda proudly rises above the trees. To the right of the trees you can see a smaller pagoda, which no longer exists.

The chief characteristic in dating the Whampoa paintings is – once again – the type of flag. A second clue is provided by the changes in the type or number of East Indiamen. For example, one feature is the vessels' white-painted undersides. Until the

end of the eighteenth century, it was the general custom to coat the ships' bottoms with *harpuis* – as it is called in Dutch nautical terms – which is a special coating mixture used as a protection for the shell of the vessel.¹⁴ After circa 1800, however, the custom developed of coppering the bottom of ships. A third clue to dating the Whampoa paintings is the state of the buildings on the Whampoa Island. At first, Western countries had simple temporary shelters and storehouses in the foreground, on the strip of sand at the island of Whampoa. After 1840, these temporary structures were replaced with more substantial brick buildings.

The flags on the stern provide a good means of determining the origin of the ships. With topmasts struck and streaming pennants, on the two paintings from Leiden, there are ships from Great Britain (with a flag design dating from before 1801), Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and France with the white Royal flag. On the Leiden reverse glass painting we can also see one Spanish ship (actually owned by the Philippine trading company) and one American ship.¹⁵ Since the Americans are represented in this picture, we can conclude that this painting was executed

after 1785. The corresponding reverse painting on glass belongs to the set of glass paintings in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. As in the case of the Leiden glass painting of the Canton port from the same set (Fig. 2) – also with the white French flag – this glass painting can be dated quite accurately to before 1790 but after 1785, due to this flag and the presence of the American ship. The Leiden oil painting is of an earlier date, possibly around 1780. This painting clearly belongs to a set of three, together with the Leiden oil paintings of Canton port and Macao. (Figs. 1, 11) As discussed earlier, the Leiden oil

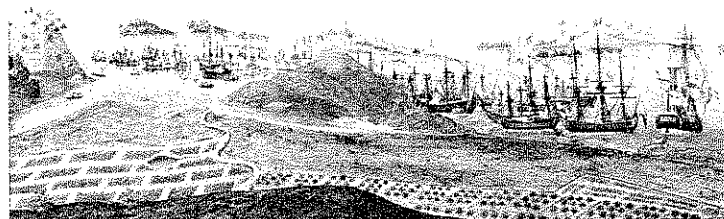


Fig. 9. Whampoa anchorage, anonymous. 52.5x81 cm, oil on glass, c.1785. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

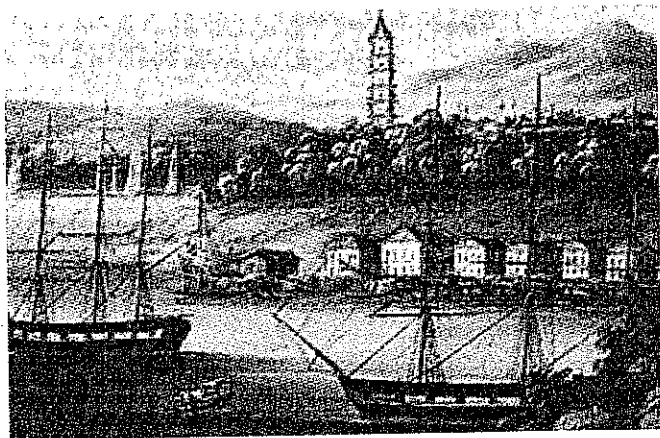


Fig. 10. Whampoa anchorage (detail), anonymous. 44.5x78.1 cm, oil on canvas, c.1845. Guangzhou Museum.

painting of the Canton port was possibly executed around or just before 1780.

If we look at the painting from the Guangzhou Museum, we can clearly distinguish a different painting style. (Fig. 10) The execution is more romantic and true to life. The brushwork is more fluid, the compositions better arranged – conform to the western painting conventions – and the palette stronger. With the introduction of the English artist Chinnery's more artistic or romantic arrangements, which used varying perspectives and different

viewpoints and angles for composition, the rather clinical, dead-on treatment disappeared.¹⁶ Most of the flags on the ships are American and British. The simple shelters and storehouses on the island of Whampoa have been replaced with brick buildings. Judging mainly from these features, we can conclude that the painting was produced around 1845.

View of Macao and Praya Grande

A closer look at the two paintings in both museums with the depiction of Macao reveals substantial differences. (Figs. 11, 12)

The Leiden painting, with its panoramic view of Macao, shows the view from the southern Penha Hill looking north. (Fig. 11) The city of Macao lies in the centre. To the west of the city lies the inner harbour, with sea-going ships moored with their masts aloft. To the east of the city lies the Praya Grande, the elongated, half-moon shaped and sandy bay. The painting is executed with much detailed precision, with elaborate trading junks, fishing boats, people, buildings and animals. This painting clearly belongs to the – earlier mentioned – set of three, together with the paintings of Canton and Whampoa from Leiden. As discussed before, these three paintings were possibly executed around 1780. Although such paintings

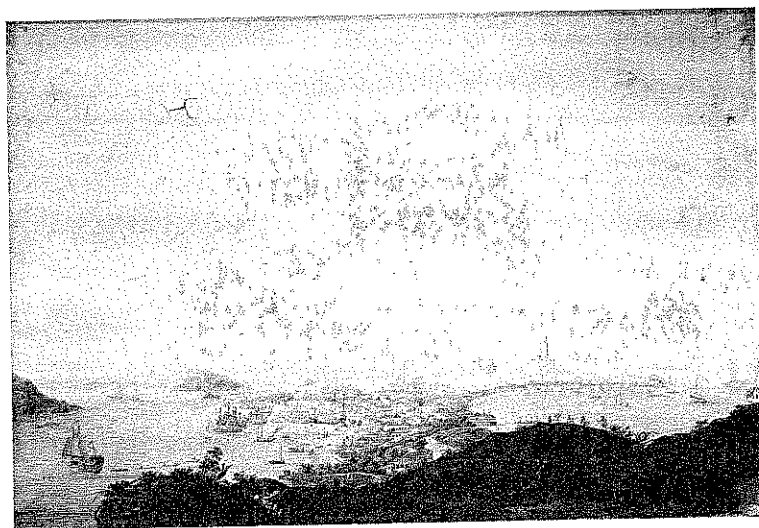


Fig. 11. View of Macao, anonymous. 52x76 cm, oil/gouache on paper on canvas, c.1780. National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

were originally painted and sold as sets, we cannot always safely assume that the views in a set all show their subjects at the same date. While there might be no incentive to paint a new version of the Bocca Tigris, or even of Whampoa, outdated views of Canton and Macao would be unacceptable.

The gouache from the Guangzhou Museum was executed much later, in circa 1850. (Fig. 12) Just as is the case with the Canton and the Whampoa pictures from the Guangzhou Museum, this one was probably also executed by

painters of the famous Tingqua studio. It depicts Macao viewed from the north looking south and offers an accurate view of the sweeping arc of the Praya Grande with its row of western buildings. The hill to the far left in the background is the Penha Hill with the church. The woman in the foreground with the baby and the western man sitting on a bench along the Praya Grande are compositional devices, which appeared in countless views of Macao, showing the repetition of subject matter over a period of years.¹⁷

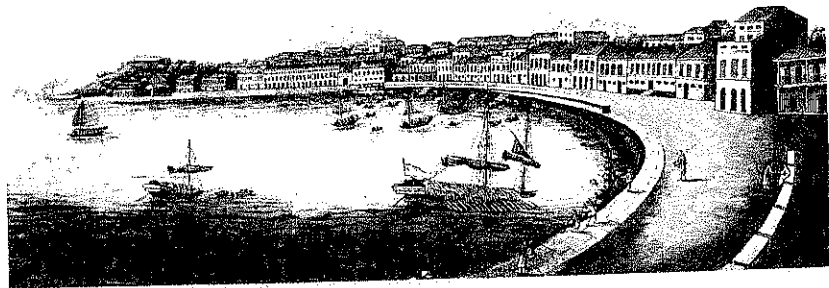


Fig. 12. Praya Grande, Tingqua's studio? 16.5x26 cm, gouache on pith paper, c.1850–1855. Guangzhou Museum

There are some familiar orientation points in the centre of the depiction of Macao in the Leiden painting:

- The facade of St. Paul's cathedral at the foot of Monte Forte;
- St. Domingo, the church in baroque Philippine style, built by the Spanish Dominican friars;
- St. Lorenzo, the beautiful Catholic church, without the two square towers that were only added in 1846;
- the patriarchal cross can be observed on innumerable churches and monasteries in Western architectural styles. This cross has two high horizontal bars, the upper one shorter than the lower. In clerical heraldry, some archbishops from Lisbon used this cross on their arms;
- The Portuguese flag, with the traditional arms of Portugal (*the escudo*), is depicted on Fort Guia on top of the hill, to the right of the painting. This flag appeared in Macao at the end of the eighteenth century. At the bottom of this hill lies the fortified monastery of San Francisco.

'What is the importance of keeping these pictures?'

In conclusion, I would like to make a plea for the restoration of the China trade paintings. I try to make clear here what the historical interest is of restoring these pictures to preserve and conserve them for the future.

First, I would like to emphasize that the export paintings possess a historical importance, which goes beyond a merely art-historical value. Presently, their cultural significance is emerging more and more in social and cultural-historical research. In such a fast-moving and rapidly changing world, especially in the Far East, it will be all too easy for the following generations to forget what the old world looked like. China lacks paintings depicting these scenes, as most of the trade pictures were aimed for export. I am glad that China is gradually showing more interest in buying and conserving this type of painting, thus recording a forgotten and long-past manner of conducting trade. These paintings widen our panorama and help people to better understand the history of cultural exchange and the role Canton and

Macao played in world trade history. The restoration of these paintings is therefore of fundamental importance in keeping memory alive.

Secondly, you may have noticed that most of the Leiden oil paintings are torn and punctured, but, as the famous London-based restorer Alan Bradford stated after his research: '[...] in a remarkably original condition. Some have suffered from the effects of damp causing mould spores to stain the surface in places, leaving dark speckles over areas of the surface. The thin Chinese canvas gets easily torn if not looked after. Especially unvarnished pictures absorb dirt over the years and get covered in dark dots from flies and insect deposits. Some of the Leiden paintings were cleaned, re-varnished and have damages retouched. This varnish has since become yellow with age and needs to be removed to restore the original tonality of the pictures. The bad tears in the canvas were obviously backed or patched. This is why, like most arte-facts, pictures need to be restored every few decades to preserve them from the ravages of time, mend damages or lay lifting paint when such problems arise [...].'

The third reason for cherishing these China trade paintings is simply their obvious and distinguishable beauty of execution and subject matter. The glass paintings of the standard China trade views are quite rare, much more so than their counterparts in oil. Because of their rarity and the unique techniques used in the glass paintings, these paintings must be collected and kept by museums. The fact that the paintings in the Leiden museum are identical images, executed in two different media, is almost unique.

I hope that the export oil paintings from China in the National Museum of Ethnology will receive a better and well-deserved place in the museum collection. China trade paintings are well-known worldwide. The Leiden paintings, which belong to this specific painting tradition, have so far remained unknown. By describing these paintings at this conference, a first step has been made towards making available this unknown treasure in Leiden's ethnographic collection.

In order to bring the paintings back to their former glory so that they can be exhibited again, a complete restoration is required. Only once the paintings are restored will it make sense to make them available to the public, for instance by organizing exhibitions in the Netherlands and abroad, especially in Guangzhou and in Macao. In light of the growing economic relations between the Netherlands and China, this seems to be an ideal time to seek financial support to cover the costs of restoring these 'made-in-China' paintings.

And finally, it is my strong belief that this type of export paintings would fit equally well in a core museum collection of traditional Chinese painting. This important, though divergent, painting style cannot be ignored in a survey collection of Chinese painting, if only because this specific Chinese art genre is the work of Chinese painters in China at a particular important historical period and this painting style occupies an important and special place in the development of Chinese painting. The time has come to restore this specific Chinese art form to the art-historical canon, in China as well as abroad.

Notes

- ¹ Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 9-13.
- ² Ming Wilson, Zhiwei Liu, *Souvenir from Canton, Chinese export paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2003), p. 10.
- ³ Joseph Ting, *Late Qing China trade paintings* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1982), pp. 9-11; Carl L. Crossman, *The decorative arts of the China trade: paintings, furnishings and exotic curiosities* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), p. 187.
- ⁴ Patrick Conner, 'Port scenes in the Anthony J. Hardy collection of China trade paintings' in: *Arts of Asia*, vol. 32 (2002), pp. 76-90.

- ⁵ Craig Clunas, *Chinese export watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), p. 11.
- ⁶ Crossman, 1991, pp. 183, 202.
- ⁷ Ibidem, p. 111.
- ⁸ Paul Van Dyke in: Cai Hongsheng, Leonard Blussé et al. *Sailing to the Pearl River. Dutch enterprise in South China 1600–2000* (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Publishing House, 2004), p. 45.
- ⁹ Crossman, 1991, pp. 423–435.
- ¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 431.
- ¹¹ Ibidem, p. 424.
- ¹² Ibidem, p. 434.
- ¹³ Ibidem, p. 115.
- ¹⁴ Paul van Dongen, *Sensitive plates. Nineteen Chinese paintings on glass* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 2001), p. 36.
- ¹⁵ Crossman, 1991, p. 424.
- ¹⁶ Crossman, 1991, p. 115.
- ¹⁷ Crossman, 1991, p. 410.